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ABSTRACT

This paper offers a conceptual framework for the intersection of work and family roles based on the constructs of work involvement and family involvement. The theoretical and empirical literature on the intersection of work and family roles is reviewed from two analytical approaches. From the individual level of analysis, the literature reviewed reveals three theoretical models which assert: (1) that work and family are separate role environments (segmented); (2) that work and family roles are antithetical (compensatory); or (3) that work and family roles are fundamentally similar (spillover). Literature from the couple's level of analysis is then reviewed which presents evidence for the existence of an inter-spouse relationship. Based on this review, a conceptual framework is proposed. Included is a table which lists all possible combinations of work and family involvement between two spouses. These 24 combinations are then collapsed into four general patterns: all roles symmetric; all roles asymmetric; symmetric family-asymmetric work; and asymmetric family-symmetric work. Each of these patterns is described and their place in the existing literature is examined. (Author/NRB)

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Patterns of Work and Family Involvement Among Single and Dual Earner Couples

Two Competing Analytical Approaches

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Abstract

This paper offers a conceptual framework for the intersection of work and family roles based on two constructs, work involvement and family involvement. In order to better understand the interaction between work and family both intra-spouse perspective, (i.e. one spouse input) and inter-spouse perspectives, (i.e. both husband's wife's input) must be considered. The manuscript also reviews the theoretical and empirical literature from two different analytical approaches. First from the individual level of analysis where three rather well developed models exist: segmented, compensatory and spillover. Then, from the couple's level of analysis where the literature is not as extensive or clear but it presents evidence for the existence of inter-spouse relationship. On the basis of this review, the conceptual framework is presented from the couple's level of analysis and it includes four general patterns: all roles symmetric; all roles asymmetric; symmetric family and asymmetric work; and asymmetric family and symmetric work.

Patterns of Work and Family Involvement Among

Single and Dual Earner Couples:

Two Competing Analytical Approaches

Introduction

Adults play a variety of roles in enacting the routines of every day living. Two sets of these roles: those associated with work and those associated with family and their intersection are the subject of an expanding literature in both the popular and academic press. This surge of interest in the intersection between work and family roles is due to the entry into the work force of large numbers of married women with children. The traditional family model of the husband as bread-winner and wife as homemaker is becoming increasingly rare. Yet, like any other new social development, understanding of how the phenomenon of working women has impacted on work and family role behavior lags the widespread existence of the phenomenon itself.

In this manuscript, we first review the theoretical and empirical literature on the intersection of work and family roles at the individual level of analysis. Here we find three rather well-developed theoretical models: segmented (sometimes called independent), compensatory and spillover. There is also substantial empirical research which both tests the models and their implications in terms of role behavior and attitudes. We then review the theoretical literature at the couples' level of analysis. This literature proposes typologies of dual and single-earner couples, but for the most part, neither tests the validity of the typologies nor proposes nor tests their implications in terms of role behavior or

attitudes. Rather than generate our own hypotheses about the behavior and attitudinal implications of couples' typologies which have not themselves been subjected to empirical test, we propose a model which includes four patterns of the relationship between work and family at the couples' level of analysis. These patterns: all roles symmetric, all roles asymmetric, symmetric family-asymmetric work and asymmetric family- symmetric work contain and extend the typologies proposed by other theoreticians.

Models at the Individual Level

Segmented. Work and family have been viewed as separate role environments. The two roles exist side by side and for all practical purposes are independent of each other. Renshaw (1975) studied the relationship between work and family and concluded that even though people are simultaneously members of at least two systems, while they are in one world, they present themselves as though the other does not exist. Indeed, she argues, that they systematically deny, even to themselves, the connections between the two worlds. A theoretical rationale for the segmented model is what Kanter (1977) calls "the myth of separate worlds". The reason there seems to be no relationship between work and family, she argues, is that each world belongs mainly to one sex. Work is for men; family responsibility and home maintenance is for women. Parsons and Bales (1966) made this role separation explicit, arguing that male roles are instrumental while female roles are expressive. Thus, the husband-father meets his family role obligations indirectly through his work - what his income provides; while the wife-mother meets her family obligations directly and expressively through family role behavior. Kanter (1977) argues

that because of this myth, working men deny any connection between work and family. On the other hand, she describes a variety of situations in which the husband's work becomes a joint venture and work and family overlap, but she presents no empirical research to reject the segmented model. Thus, it is not clear that the segmented model was ever really descriptive of working men, much less whether this model describes working men and women today. Yet, it is also not clear that this separate-world model of work and family was or is a myth as Kanter (1977) claims.

Spillover. The spillover model asserts fundamental similarity between work and family roles. Staines (1980) develops three theoretical rationales for the spillover model. First, work and family roles may be similar because of the overlap between time, place, people and activities in the two realms. The best examples here are occupations in which living quarters are codeterminant with the work-space and all family members have a role in the work (see Kanter, 1977). Second, people with certain personality traits [e.g., Type A (Burke and Bradshaw, 1981)] may have a general disposition to enact all roles in a similar fashion. Third, the skills and abilities acquired on the job (Kohn and Schooler, 1973) may facilitate the enactment of family roles or vice versa. For example, married women entering or re-entering the work force after a period of child rearing, may find that the social and organizational skills they used to keep the family functioning smoothly are exactly the skills needed in the work place. Fourth, in certain segments of the working population there may be social and cultural pressures to enact both work and family roles in similar manner (e.g., the pressures on young

professional women to be superb professionals and super moms is an example).

Compensatory. The compensatory model asserts that work and family roles are antithetical. Staines (1980) articulates two theoretical rationales for the compensatory model. First, work and family roles may be compensatory because individuals have a fixed sum of time, energy and financial resources to devote to all of their roles. Work and family roles are mutually exclusive alternatives vying for these resources. Time and energy that is devoted to one role cannot be devoted to another. Second, according to Meissner (1971) people may have relatively uniform and stable preferences for levels (and types) of activity and involvement. Thus, what people get from their experiences at work they do not need to seek outside work, and vice versa (Staines, 1980). Thus, if expressive needs or needs for power or challenge are met at work, they need not be supplemented by family role behavior.

The empirical literature on the intersection of work and family roles at the individual level of analysis mainly focuses on degree of role involvement, role behavior and role-relevant attitudes. While there are several recent reviews of this literature (Greenhaus and Beutel, 1982; Near, Rice and Hunt, 1980; Staines, 1980), the focus of the Staines review: role involvement, role activities and subjective role reactions is the most useful for our purposes because it suggests a structure for studying the intra and inter role relationships among involvement, behavior and attitudes. Figure 1 presents a matrix of three constructs: involvement, behavior, and attitudes for work and family roles at the individual level of analysis. In the next section

we define these constructs. We then turn to a brief review of the inter- role literature.

Definitions of Constructs

Involvement. Involvement is usually conceptualized subjectively. Job involvement refers to the degree to which a person is identified psychologically with work, the importance of work to the person's self-image and self-concept and the individual's commitment to work in general as opposed to a particular job (Lodahl and Kejner, 1965; Rabinowitz and Hall, 1977). The instrument developed by Lodahl and Kejner (1965) has been widely used in research on job involvement.

The concept of family involvement does not have a comparable research history. In this study, we conceptualize family involvement as the degree to which a person is identified psychologically with family roles, the importance of family roles to the person's self-image and self-concept and the individual's commitment to family roles.

Behavior. Role behavior refers to the normal activities of role enactment. Work and family are role environments in which a person enacts, sometimes simultaneously and sometimes sequentially, a cluster of roles. Work roles might include the roles of liaison, subordinate supervisor, etc. Family roles include spouse, parent, home maintenance. Studies of role behavior frequently utilize objective methods such as counts of roles (Herman and Gyllstrom, 1977) and time budgets (Walker & Woods, 1976; Robinson, 1977).

Attitudes. Role attitudes are subjective assessments of a person's experiences of role enactment. Role attitudes that are of particular interest here include satisfaction with work, marriage and

family as well as subjective assessments of role activities. The latter is most widely studied in the job literature, i.e. Hackman and Oldham's (1976) six dimensions of jobs, but has parallels in non work roles (Rousseau, 1978).

Populations

There are three subpopulations which the relationships between work and family roles may be expected to vary. These subpopulations are employed women who are married and have children at home; employed men whose wives are also employed and who have children at home; and employed men whose wives are not employed and who have children at home. The fourth cell, employed women whose husbands are not employed is too small in the general population to be of interest. The limitation of these subpopulations to employed men and women who are married and who have children living in the home is because spouse and parent roles are at the center of the family role cluster and because research suggests that the addition of parental roles complicates the work-family role relationship (Herman and Gyllstrom, 1977). The subpopulations should not be limited to men and women who are working full time, because part-time work adds an interesting dimension to work-family role relationships (Hall and Gordon, 1973).

Our literature review focuses on the inter-role relationships in the lower left corner of Figure 1. The fundamental question that this literature review seeks to explore is the degree of evidence for each of the three individual-level, inter-role models: segmented, spillover and compensatory.

Insert Figure 1

Involvement.

We could find only one study that focused on the relationships between work involvement and family involvement at the individual level of analysis. Cotgrove (1965) found a negative relationship, hence confirmation of the compensatory model. Two studies of work involvement and involvement in non work roles (a broader concept than family involvement) are in conflict. Goldstein and Eichorn (1961) report a negative relationship. Their results support the compensatory model. Staines and Pagnucco (1977) found a positive relationship. Their research supports the spillover model.

Behavior. The research on role behavior unequivocally supports the compensatory model as a result of a methodological artifact. Studies based on time budgets report negative relationships between time spent in work and non-work roles since there are only 24 hours in a day (Walker and Woods, 1976; Robinson, 1977).

Research in this area does tend to focus on family role behavior, e.g. childcare, housework and recreation with spouse and is broken down by the three working populations of interest. In general, working women have been found to carry a very heavy total work-load. They enjoy substantially less leisure time and sleep than do their husbands (Robinson et al, 1977). Professional mothers, for example, report working 108 hours per week on professional work, housework and childcare (Yogev, 1981).

Pleck (1981) argues that among husbands of employed women, the amount of time spent in family work has not increased over the last decade. However, husbands are performing a higher proportion of the family work today because employed wives are spending less time in family work than they did a decade ago.

Attitudes. The research on the relationship between attitudes toward work and family roles generally supports the spillover model, although the correlations are more frequently significant and more powerful for men than for working women (Staines, 1980). Job satisfaction is significantly correlated with marital satisfaction, marital adjustment, satisfaction with family life and satisfaction with life in general for men.

These conclusions are based on several studies and reviews. Near, Rice and Hunt (1980) reviewed empirical studies of the relationship between satisfaction with work and satisfaction with life. In more than 90% of the 23 studies reviewed, the direction of this relationship was positive (i.e. spillover). The magnitude of the positive relationships between attitudes toward work and family was modest - mid 30's for males and mid 20's for females.

Staines' reanalysis of two national random sample surveys (Campbell, et. al, 1976; and Staines, et. al, 1978) similarly reveals that the results for women are much more equivocal. Staines (1980) found low powered, but significant, positive relationships in one reanalysis (Staines, et. al., 1978) and no relationships in the other reanalysis (Campbell, et. al. 1976).

Two other studies support the segmented model. Ridley (1973) found no association between job satisfaction and marital adjustment among married female school teachers. Westlander (1977) reported no association between satisfaction with job and home life among female factory workers. Since results which support the segmented model will be more difficult to publish than significant results, there may be more support for the segmented model of work and family satisfaction than we have located.

Involvement, Behavior, Attitudes.

We found few other studies where relationships between work and family were found. While it is not always clear whether the measurements used can be classified as involvement or attitudes, particularly in the family area, all these studies support the compensatory model. For example, Nieva (1979) found that: 1) general family demands - the family's need for time, energy, etc., 2) work - family bidirectional conflict, 3) work-family conflict and 4) family-work conflict, were all significantly and negatively related to job satisfaction, job involvement and intention to reenlist among a population of male and female military personnel. It is not clear whether the four variables are attitudes, behaviors, involvement or a mixture of all three.

Similarly, Burke and Weir (1980) in their research on Type A individuals, found that more Type A's than Type B's reported that their job demands had a negative impact on personal, home and family life. Korman and Korman (1980) argue that professionally successful individuals are likely to be victims of personal failure.

With regard to work involvement and family attitudes (i.e., satisfaction with family roles) some studies support the segmented model (Iris and Barrett, 1972 - men only; Campbell, Converse and Rodgers, 1976 - both men and women). Other studies support the compensatory model (Fogarty, Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971 - both men and women; Haavio-Mannila, 1971 - women only) while one study supports the spillover model among women (Safilios-Rothschild, 1970).

With regard to work behavior and family attitudes and/or involvement, the two studies found support the compensatory model. Werbel (1983) found that nurses were more likely to leave employment, if they had family as a primary life involvement. Bray, Campbell & Grant

(1974) found that 19 percent of the voluntary terminations from AT&T during the first eight years of the Management Progress study were attributed to home/personal reasons.

Summary of Individual Models. There are empirical studies supporting all three individual-level models of work and family. With respect to work and family involvement no general conclusions can be drawn, since there have not been many studies measuring family involvement directly. With respect to work and family behavior, so long as objective measures are used, the compensatory model best explains the data. With respect to work and family attitudes, the spillover model fits the data best, though the magnitude of the positive relationship is greater for men than women. This latter finding may be due to a range restriction on job satisfaction for working women. Finally, with respect to cross construct relationships (e.g., work involvement and family role behavior or family role behavior and satisfaction with work) no single model fits the studies reviewed.

Couples' Model

Kanter (1977) was the first to discuss the "myth of separate worlds", i.e., work life and family life constitute two separate and non-overlapping worlds (p.8). She stressed the need to study work-family interactions, transactions, and linkage. However, there is little research and theoretical thinking focusing on the interdependence of home and work. Gutek, Nakamura, and Nieva (1981) suggested a pragmatic reason for this. They noticed that family and work are studied by different academic disciplines. Organizational/industrial psychologists and sociologists study work behavior while family behavior is more often studied by clinical psychologists, marriage counselors, and family sociologists. "Unfortunately there is

very little professional collaboration or communication between these disparate academic areas. This yields a dearth of studies which adequately cover both work and family behavior" (p.2).

In recent years, we have also seen a great increase in the importance and impact of family therapy in the clinical therapeutic area. Family therapists perceive people not as separate individuals but rather as part of a system. The family is a system and people are interacting within its context. Family members affect it and are affected by it. Thus behaviors or changes in one member cause changes and affect the behaviors of other family members too. The approach for the family as a system is crucial when researchers study work-family interaction of dual-earner couples. The inter-spouse or cross-spouse family relationships need to be addressed, in addition to the intra-spouse dynamics Kanter (1977) talked about.

This section of the paper attempts to do exactly that. It proposes a conceptual framework for the intersection of work and family which includes both spouses' work and family roles, thus addressing both intra-spouse and inter-spouse perspectives. First, the theoretical and empirical literature on the intersection of work and family roles is reviewed and evidence of the existence of inter-spouse relationships is presented. On the basis of this review, which lays the ground for a general framework of work and family, the conceptual viewpoint is presented. The literature suggests that individuals and couples need to be conceptualized psychologically in terms of his and her work involvement and family involvement (Hall & Hall, 1979, 1980; Bailyn, 1978, 1980).

The Traditional Family Model

The traditional family model of the husband as breadwinner and the wife as homemaker is becoming harder to find. During the 1950s and 1960s when this family model prevailed, work and family were viewed as complementary spheres, each belonging to one sex only. Work is for men, family responsibilities and home maintenance is for women. This tradition, which has both biosocial and cultural origins, was made explicit by Parsons in his definition of instrumental-male and expressive-female roles (Parsons and Bales, 1966).

The traditional family had a very clear role division. The wife's expressive role as homemaker overlapped considerably with her roles as spouse and parent. Her perceptions of herself were congruent with the needs and expectations of others. The husband in turn had the instrumental role and was able to define his identity more and more in terms of career. Doing well as a career person meant being a good provider and meeting parent and spouse obligations through what his income provided.

The basic assumption underlying the traditional family model is that men were usually thought to have low psychological involvement in the family and high psychological involvement in their work, while women were usually thought to have high psychological involvement in the family.

There have been several reasons for this assumption. Role participation and actual behavior were assumed to reflect psychological involvement. "Since men obviously spend less time performing family tasks than they do in paid work, then it must follow -- or so it is assumed -- that their family life is less psychologically involving to them than are their jobs" (Pleck, 1983,

p. 291). Ideology and sex role stereotypes also contribute to this assumption. Because of the 'motherhood cult', i.e., only children brought up with 24 hours per day care by their natural mothers can have a normal development (Safilios-Rothschild, 1970); the 'myth of motherhood', i.e. the sole true means of self-realization (Oakely, 1974); the traditional pattern of the family assumed that all women are basically quite equal in their high degree of family involvement, while their husbands are equally neither directly nor highly involved with their families and childcare.

It is not clear that the traditional model in which the husband-father is the provider and consequently is high work involved and low family involved, while the wife-mother is the homemaker and consequently is high family involved, was ever true, much less true today. Pleck (1983) examined the research comparing men's work and family involvement and concluded that "the finding that in all the other measures and studies reviewed, men report themselves to be less psychologically involved with work than with the family (though they are somewhat less involved with the family than women are) contradicts the usual stereotype of the male role as obsessed by work and oblivious to the family" (Pleck, 1983, p. 295).

Today as more women enter the labor force and as more men increase their participation in family work and become actively and directly involved with the everyday family routines of housework and childcare, researchers no longer can assume two distinct roles or areas of commitment/involvement for men and women, with no intra-spouse and/or inter-spouse relationship.

The Importance of Looking at Inter-Spouse Relationship

Figure 2 shows the intra- and inter-spouse role relationships for a couple in which both are working. Intra-spouse work-family relationships or work-family role relationships at the individual level are indicated by the X and Y arrows in Figure 2. The literature about the intersection of work and family at the individual level was reviewed in the first part of this paper. Arrows labeled A-D show inter-spouse role relationships. Each relationship is indicated by two arrows since his work role involvement, behavior, or attitudes could affect her work role involvement, behavior, or attitudes or vice versa.

Insert Figure 2

Evidence for the existence of inter-spouse relationships is as follows:

Arrow A. Employees whose wives were involved in their own work were less willing to accept a job transfer than employees whose wives were not involved in their own work (Brett & Werbel, 1980). There were no significant differences with respect to willingness to transfer between employees whose wives were not involved in their own jobs and employees whose wives did not work at all (Brett & Werbel, 1980). Husbands' current occupational status is negatively affected by wives occupational status at the time of marriage, according to Sharda and Nangle's (1981) 10-year longitudinal study. According to Pfeffer and Ross (1982), there is a positive effect on men's salary attainment of being married, but a negative effect of having a working

wife. These effects, moreover, are larger for managerial and professional samples than for blue collar workers.

Arrow B. Husbands' attitudes regarding the employment of women change to conform to their wives' attitudes and behaviors (Spitze & Waite, 1981). Wives, in turn, enter the labor market or not in accordance with their perceptions of their husbands' wishes (Spitze & Waite, 1981). Employed women who want their husbands to do more housework and childcare are less satisfied with their marriages (Yogev & Brett, 1983) and their family adjustment and well-being are significantly lower (Pleck, 1982) than women who do not wish their husbands' share to increase and perceive the husband's share as significant.

Arrow C. Some jobs, like the clergy or the diplomatic corps, so absorb the wife in the husband's role that Papanek (1973) describes the resulting job as a two-person career. Among executives of international companies, the most important influence on satisfaction with overseas assignments and work performance was the adjustment of the executives' wives to the foreign environment. Burke, Weir & DeWors (1980) found that greater occupational demands reported by husbands were associated with greater life concerns and lesser well-being among their spouses.

Arrow D. Some researchers found more conflict and less marital happiness in dual-earner couples (Blood, 1963; Nye, 1963), while others found more marital happiness (Dizard, 1968; Birnbaum, 1971), more sharing and enjoyment (Holmstrom, 1972; Carlson, 1973; Safilios-Rothschild, 1970), and more satisfaction (Rapaport, 1974; Hall, 1972). Some studies report less marital satisfaction for the husbands (Axelson, 1963; Yankelovich, 1974; Orden & Bradburn, 1969),

while others found more marital satisfaction for the wives (Paloma & Garland, 1971; Burke & Weir, 1976).

Similarly, when we analyze the results of the division of housework and childcare, we again see contradictions. There are studies arguing that the family is becoming more symmetric (i.e., evolving toward a pattern where each marital partner has a significant role in both paid work and the family) and that when a woman is employed, her husband's family labor increases, while her family labor decreases (Young & Willmott, 1973; Oakely, 1972; Burke, et al., 1980; Holmstrom, 1972). On the other hand, some studies found that family labor is strongly segregated by sex: husband's time does not vary in response to changes resulting from wife's paid employment (Pleck, 1978).

Intra-Spouse Variable: Job Involvement

An examination of industrial-organizational psychology and sociology of work textbooks strongly suggests that the process of ego involvement in work is very important. Both disciplines have discussed the different meanings work can have for individuals. The sociologists have been more concerned with the objective reality aspects of the socialization process that lead to the incorporation of work-relevant norms and values. The psychologists have tended to focus on the individual subjective perception, individual differences, and organizational conditions that lead to ego involvement (i.e., job involvement). Industrial psychologists have emphasized the concept of career orientation and job involvement as the explanation of organizational efficiency and effectiveness. Job involvement refers to the degree to which a person is identified psychologically with his/her work, the importance of work in his/her total self image. The

commitment of this individual to his/her work, and conditions that lead to job involvement (e.g., meaningfulness or work, adequacy of supervision, etc.) are also relevant here.

In both disciplines, an important emphasis was put on careers, i.e., lifelong sequence of jobs and of work role related experiences (Hall, 1976; Rosenbaum, 1984). Most writings view careers as employment in which a clear pattern of systematic advancement -- a career ladder is evident. The notion of vertical mobility, directionality, moving upward in an organization's hierarchy is very important as well as getting ahead, advancing according to a timetable. Usually careers demand a long period of training, considerable involvement and commitment. Money is not the main or sole reason for the career employment but rather the internal satisfaction it provides and its attribute to self-concept and central life interest.

By way of contrast, employment that does not generally lead to advancement or to a long-term series of related positions is often viewed as not constituting a career but a job. A job is considered as employment the person is taking in order to earn his/her living. Within a relatively short period of time the worker becomes proficient in his/her job. Extrinsic job factors such as high pay and job security are more important than the job itself. "The job is a means to an end and not an end in itself." (Ritzer, 1977, p. 276). Work becomes little more than a necessary evil to be endured because of the weekly paycheck, which enables workers to satisfy their primary needs (Chinoy, 1955). Workers give up trying to advance in the organization and turn their ambition toward outside goals. A person has a job when

he/she does not seek advancement and his/her commitment to work is lowered.

While the distinction between job and career is very clear and central in many sociology of work theories and predictions, we could not find in the sociological literature any measures that were developed in order to differentiate and distinguish among people along this continuum.

Industrial psychologists have developed several scales measuring job involvement (Dubin, 1956; Faunce, 1959; Gurin, Veroff & Feld, 1960; Vroom, 1962). The one developed by Lodahl and Kegner (1965) is the most widely used measure of job involvement.

A recent series of investigations has explored this concept. Job involvement shows moderate relationships with job satisfaction (Weissenberg & Gruenfeld, 1968) personal time devoted to work, and positive mental health (Lawler & Hall, 1970). High job involvement is related to challenge, success, intrinsic work satisfaction, and self-esteem (Hall & Schneider, 1973). Rabinowitz and Hall (1977) reviewed the literature on job involvement and described a profile of the job-involved person.

When women's work is discussed in the literature, we can see the following weak feature in the work-family research about them (i.e., complete neglect for their job involvement). Women are divided merely into gross categories (e.g., employed and housewives, full time - part time worker versus not working outside the home). As Bailyn (1980) pointed out, simply characterizing a woman by whether or not she works does not capture her ideological commitment to work and family.

When putting together the data from both disciplines about ego involvement at work, it becomes quite clear that the person who is

highly involved in his/her work (i.e., scores high on job involvement scale) is more likely to have a career than a job, while the opposite is true for the person who scores low on job involvement.

Thus, whether a person has a job or a career means that the commitment, time on the job, as well as time related to one's work that one must put in, will differ tremendously. This factor will certainly affect the time left available for existence -- sleeping, eating, fulfillment of family work -- maintaining lawn, doing laundry, interaction with family members, and leisure. However, not only time will be affected but the individual's entire lifestyle, relationship with spouse, children and community as well.

When investigating dual-earner couples and summarizing the information about work but looking at it from the couple-level point of view or inter-spouse relationships, it becomes critical to distinguish for each spouse between job and career and to differentiate among the following general types:

1) "dual-career" - both spouses have a career and are highly involved in their work
2) "1 career - 1 job: traditional" - the husband has a career while the wife is employed in a "less demanding" occupation
3) "1 career - 1 job; role reversal" - opposite of number 2
4) "dual job" - both spouses have a job and are showing lower levels of job involvement

The Importance of the Job-Career Classification

Research on the impact of working women on the family is more often concerned with the woman's than the man's work role.

Researchers in this area have been concerned with the effect of the mother's employment on their children, the effects of the wife's working on marital satisfaction and on the division of housework and childcare in the family. The latter two issues are more directly related to the adult world and to the interdependence of work and family. Although we can clearly identify the two main foci of research: 1) martial satisfaction, and 2) division of housework and childcare, we cannot come to any meaningful conclusions since the results of these studies are too often contradictory. Please go to page 15 - Arrow D where these studies are presented.

The conceptualization of job involvement and the distinction between people who have jobs and those who have careers might be very helpful when we look again at the contradictory results in the literature about marital satisfaction and division of family work. It is quite possible that there is more equal division of family work in dual-career couples than in one-career - one-job families. Or that there is less marital satisfaction in dual-jobs where the wife's employment is often perceived as the husband's failure in his provider role (Yankelevich, 1974). Or less marital satisfaction in one-career - one-job families where the wife has the career since husbands accept their wives' employment as long as it does not exceed their own in earning and commitment (Pleck, 1978). Since most of the studies did not distinguish between people along the career-job continuum but had only global measures of full-time/part-time/homemaker, it is impossible to do these further analyses.

The dual-career family has captured much of the attention of researchers studying the impact of working women on families. Hall and Hall (1980) noticed that much of the research to date on

dual-career couples has been problem-centered and descriptive, focusing on either the special problems and conflicts of the two-career couples (Holmstrom, 1972; Rapaport and Rapaport, 1969), or on role behavior such as division of family work (Weingarten, 1978). Most of the empirical work has employed either clinical or survey designs. There has been relatively little attention to theory, either the application of existing theories to dual-career problems or the development of new theories from data on two-career couples. A major weakness of many of the 'dual-career couple studies' is that not enough attention has been given to involvement or the distinction between job and career, even though the process of involvement at work is so important in the work literature. As a result, studies about dual-career couples are too often actually about one-career - one-job couples or even dual-job.

Previous Theoretical Models for Dual-Earners

Several researchers and theoreticians have proposed models of couples that attempt to characterize both spouses' work and family relationships. Poloma and Garland (1971) contrast traditional (one-career - one-job) and nontraditional (dual-career) couples. Young and Wilmott (1973) contrast role symmetrical (dual-earner couples) versus role asymmetrical couples (single-earner couples). Hall and Hall (1979,1980) described four different types of dual-career couples (acrobats, adversaries, allies, and accomodators) in which the degree of home involvement varies dramatically. Bailyn (1970) characterized conventional couples (i.e., one-career - one-job) and coordinated couples, (i.e., dual-career) and in 1978 differentiated between equal-sharing couples (i.e., high on work and family responsibilities) and differentiated responsibility couples.

Jones and Jones (1980) describe liaison, state, monogmanatic love, and magnetized relationships. Evans and Bartholomew (1983) describe single-earner couples as spillover, independent, conflict, instrumental, compensatory, or combinations thereof. Each of these characterizations is limited.

Some of these models are purely theoretical (e.g., Hall & Hall, 1979,1980) -- that is, they were neither generated from formal data nor have they been tested formally against empirical data. Others were derived qualitatively from data (e.g., Jones and Jones, 1980) and not independently confirmed. Still others were not derived from dual-earner couples. Yet, the models in the literature do lay the groundwork for a general conceptual framework of work and family role interaction that is appropriate to dual- and single-earner couples. The literature suggests that couples need to be conceptualized psychologically in terms of his work and family involvement and her work and family involvement (Hall & Hall 1979,1980; Bailyn, 1970,1978). Thus the underlying concept in many of the theoretical papers and empirical studies about dual-earner (even though it is rarely up front and clearly presented) is that couples and individuals need to be defined by their work involvement and family involvement.

Intra-Spouse Variables:Family Involvement

While work involvement is a very clear and recognized construct in the literature, family involvement does not exist as an operationalized construct in the marriage and family literature. To the best of our knowledge, there has been no attempt to conceptualize, operationalize, or measure family involvement.

This paper proposes to conceptualize family involvement as the importance of family roles (i.e., spouse and parent) to person's

self-concept and self-image similarly to the operationalization of job involvement. Thus, family involvement represents various degrees of relative ego involvement with the family or various degrees of psychological commitment to family roles. Like work involvement, it is probably reflected in the inability to segment family problems from work, and the motivation to perform family roles effectively. A highly involved family person should be quite different from a low-involved family person with respect to family stage, participation in housework and childcare activities, marital satisfaction, and role overload and general psychological commitment to family roles.

Appendix 1 describes the Family Involvement scale constructed and used in our research (Yogev & Brett, 1984b).

It is important to note that we believe the variations in the degree of home involvement does not necessarily need to be by sex. Equally important is that we do not intend to bring any evaluative or judgmental meaning to high-low family involvement, but rather to describe a continuum along which people differ similarly to the way people differ along the introvert-extrovert continuum, for example, or the job-career one.

On the basis of the family involvement concept, four different types of families can exist:

1) dual high family involvement - both spouses are highly involved in the family
2) single high family involvement - traditional - the wife is highly involved in the family, while the husband is showing low family involvement
3) single high family involvement - role reversal - the husband is highly involved in the family

while the wife is showing low family involvement

4) Dual low family involvement - both spouses a e not highly involved in the family

The Present Model

Figure 3 presents our general conceptua framework of work and family role interaction. It is defined by two constructs -- work involvement and family involvement. We propose that dual-earner couples can be characterized by his work and family involvement and her work and family involvement. Single-earner couples can be characterized by his work and family involvement and her family involvement. The idealized framework has 24 cells -- family types which are collapsed into four general patterns. Symmetric all roles, asymmetric all roles, symmetric family-asymmetric work and asymmetric family-symmetric work. The patterns are expected to be differentially related to attitudes and behaviors in systematic ways.

Before we start to discuss each of the major patterns, it is important to note that while this table lists all possible combinations of work and family involvement between two spouses, in reality, some cells are more frequent in today's society than others. In general, because of sex role socialization and the fact that in most families women mother, we see fewer couples in which husbands have high family involvement and wives have a low or . Similarly, we see fewer couples in which the wife has a career and the husband a job.

Insert Figure 3

Symmetric all roles. There are four cells in Figure 3 in which dual-earner spouses are both similarly involved in work and family roles (cells 1, 6, 11, 16). Hall and Hall (1979, 1980) characterize high work-high family cell 1 couples as acrobats; Jones and Jones (1980) call them magnetized; Bailyn (1978), equal sharing. Hall and Hall (1979, 1980) describe cell 6 couples as adversaries or allies. Couples in this low family, high work cell may also correspond to Jones and Jones' (1980) state category. Cell 11 -- low work, high family -- corresponds to Hall and Hall's (1979, 1980) allies category and the Jones' (1980) love marriage. Bailyn (1978) points out that a very effective coping style might be one (as in cell 6 or cell 11) in which both partners limit involvement in one or the other areas. Theorists do not discuss cell 16 couples who are low on work and family.

Single-earner couples are symmetric if they are in accord on family involvement regardless of whether or not high or low job involved (cells 17, 20, 21, 24).

Symmetric family - asymmetric work. The symmetric family - asymmetric work couples are in cells 3, 8, 9 and 14. These are couples in which both spouses have high family involvement (cells 9 and 3) or low family involvement (cells 14 and 8) but each spouse's work involvement differs from the other's. There is little discussion of couples such as these in the literature, despite the fact that cell 3 seems likely to characterize many dual-earner couples and cell 9 seems likely to characterize few dual-earner couples because women are likely to hold lower status jobs than their husbands, and not much of husband's family role behavior changes to compensate for the wife's working.

Symmetric work - asymmetric family. The symmetric work - asymmetric family couples are in cells 2, 5, 12 and 15. These are couples in which both spouses have high work involvement (cells 5 and 2) or low work involvement (cells 15 and 12), but each spouse's family involvement differs from the other's. There is also little discussion of couples such as these in the literature.

Asymmetric - all roles. The dual-earner couples who are asymmetric in all their roles are in cells 4, 7, 10 and 13. Cell 7 is the traditional couples' pattern described by Poloma and Garland (1971) in which he is high work involved and low family involved and she is low work involved and high family involved. Hall and Hall (1979, 1980) call these couples accommodators.

Among the single-earner couples, asymmetric cells are 18, 19, 22 and 23. Cell 19 represents the traditional couples in which he is high work involved and low family involved and she is high family involved.

Rationales for symmetry and asymmetry in roles. There are plausible rationales for dual-earner couples to be symmetric with respect to work and family roles, but there are also plausible rationales for couples to be asymmetric. The homogamy model of mate selection, i.e., people select mates who are similar to themselves, (Kerckhoff & Davis, 1962), offers a possible rationale for symmetry in both work and family roles. A second rationale is the accommodation model of family functioning, i.e., an individual's orientation may change to be more like his/her spouse's in order to lessen tension/conflict and restore balance in a relationship, (Spiegel, 1971).

Couples are likely to be asymmetric because of childhood socialization according to traditional sex role stereotypes and influence from sex role stereotypes existing in our culture today. Work involvement is likely to be asymmetric also because of the different types or jobs held by men or women. Lower status jobs have characteristics that prohibit involvement from all but the most dedicated people. Women overwhelmingly hold these lower status jobs.

Conclusion and Implication for Future Research

Near, Rice and Hunt (1980) argue that these three traditional models of the relationships between work and nonwork do not account for the accumulated data, and that, in fact, workers come to terms with the demands of their work and nonwork lives in a greater variety of ways than can be characterized by three models at the individual level of analysis. Near, Rice and Hunt (1980), however, do not suggest what these "varieties of ways" might be.

The important contribution of this manuscript is the demonstration of the gain in understanding work-family relationships due to analyzing the data at the couples' level, taking into account each spouse's work and family role involvement particularly with dual-earner couples. In order to predict work and family attitudes behavior of dual-earner individuals, we need to take into account not only the individual's involvement in these tow roles, but also his/her spouse's involvement. Two employed married people form a unit which affects the behavior, attitudes and involvement of each spouse in a way not captured by individual-level analysis.

We have established the need for looking at both work and family involvement of each spouse when we investigate interaction between work and family. Thus the "myth" of separate worlds which Kanter

(1977) talked about will become indeed a myth when researchers investigate simultaneously both work and family involvement or, in other words, look at the intra-spouse work-family relationship.

The table we presented with its 24 cells or 4 general patterns of couples, describes a static picture of work-family interaction. In reality, people and couples are not static but changing. In order to avoid having a static system we conceptualize families as family therapists do and establish the need for looking at both spouses' variables simultaneously. This enables us to look also at inter-spouse variables and analyze a dynamic interactional system. If behavioral and social change phenomena are studied though the use of a reciprocal wife-husband work-family unit of analysis, then the variance in behavioral and social change processes may be more adequately explained. This reciprocal paradigm specifies that individuals, their spouses and their social world (work and family) are inextricably united. Analyses that consider only one of the components of this unit will avoid assessing a ubiquitous part of the whole. Spainer, Lerner and Aguilino (1978) noticed that generally within research in family sociology, only a small proportion of variance is accounted for by measures of the target phenomena. They attributed the reason for this to the fact that family researchers have failed to examine empirically the reciprocal impact of the variables and processes considered in other disciplines or those suggested by their own (e.g. organization behavior and/or sociology of work).

Thus, at the present we have two challenges: 1) analyzing the family unit by using both husband's and wife's data, and 2) analyzing reciprocites.

The difficulty regarding using both husband and wife in data analysis has been discussed but not fully resolved in the literature. Safilios-Rothschild (1969) noticed that the study of family life is based on information provided by wives only. Since then, family researchers have taken up the challenge of asking both wives and husbands about family life. However, when they did study both spouses, researchers realized that there exists "his' and hers'" marriage (Bernard, 1972). There is significant discrepancies and disjunctions between spouses' reports of family life even on seemingly objective circumstances, (e.g. Condran & Bode (1980) found significant discrepencies concerning the amount of husband's help in housework, similarly Scanzoni (1965) found disagreement on items related to task performance and authority). While there is universal agreement among investigators that marital/family research must move increasingly in the direction of collecting data from both spouses, there is no consensus on how to do so with the greatest degree of validity. There have been several suggestions in the literature of how to overcome this measurement obstacle.

Quarm (1981) showed how in some areas random measurement error can be a source of discrepancies between spouses. He suggested to create multi-item indices in order to increase the correlations between spouses or increase reliability.

Journal of Marriage and the Family devoted a special issue in 1982 to family methodology. In this issue, Thomson and Williams (1982) suggested using Joreskog and Sorbom (1978) maximum-likelihood methods of LISREL IV program as an appropriate strategy for collecting data from both spouses. In that same issue, Hill and Scanzoni suggested using couple data by using disparity variables, (i.e.

calculating the difference between each husband and his own wife on each variable and creating a new couple-variable). Szinovacz (1983) suggested using more specific behavioral items and less attitudinal items as a way of decreasing interpretative difficulties. She found that aggregate husband-wife comparisons are inadequate for concurrent validity and only couple data provide a methodological tool to detect measurement errors and report biases that are not obvious from aggregate husband-wife data. Ball, McKenny and Price-Bonham (1983) suggested using repeated-measures designs in the study of families, specifically when addressing differences in perception between family members.

We prefer to use canonical correlation as a way of dealing with both spouses' information and as a useful way of analyzing two sets of multiple indicators. McLaughlin and Otto (1981) noticed that although canonical correlation is a technique specificially designed to accomodate the problem of analysis of two sets of multiple indicators, it has received little attention in family research.

The second challenge; the need to understand simultaneously the reciprocal aspects of several levels in one research, raise difficult and complicated methodological issues as well as data analysis issues.

Spainer, et. al. (1978) noticed that the main reason why there has been little consideration of reciprocal interactions is that no existing method of data collection or technique of analysis is totally adequate and capable of dealing with the circular relations involved. In regard to method, procedures will have to be established to record reciprocal interchanges among possible level of analysis, complicating these methodological issues are data analytic issues. Most current statistical techniques are based on linear mathematical models and are

not fully appropriate to analyze continual reciprocites. Circular statistical models, attentive to the unique measurement issues raised by this logic, will have to be devised.

These methodological and data analytic issues might seemingly preclude the exploration of reciprocal work-family, husband-wife interaction. However, we believe that because of the demonstrated empirical and theoretical need to study this interface, research consistent with a reciprocal model must indeed proceed.

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		Work			Family		
		Inv.	Beh.	Att.	Inv.	Beh.	Att.
Work	Involvement						
	Behavior	W					
	Attitudes	W	W				
Family	Involvement	F,W	F,W	F,W			
	Behavior	F,W	F,W	F,W	F		
	Attitudes	F,W	F,W	F,W	F	F	

Figure 1. A matrix of relationships between three constructs: involvement, behavior, attitudes for work and family roles at the individual level of analysis.

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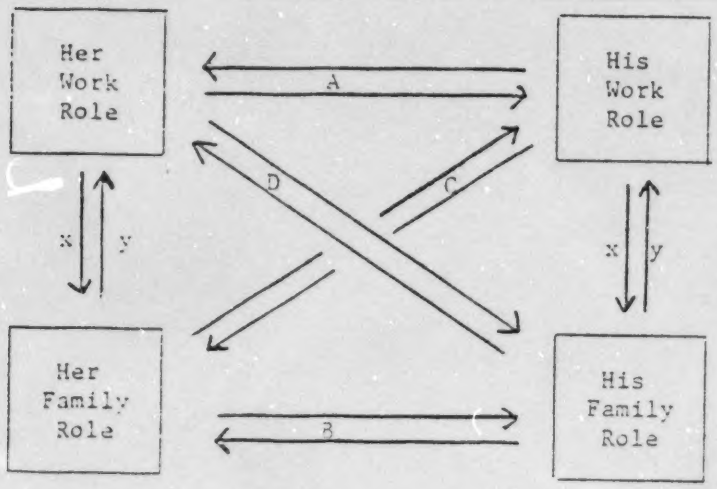

Figure 2. Intra and cross spouse role relationships for working couples.

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Husband	Wife: Work High		Wife: Work Low		Wife: Not Working	
	Family High	Family Low	Family High	Family Low	Family High	Family Low
Work High, Family High	✓ 1	✓ 2	✓ 3	4	17	18
Family Low	✓ 5	6	7	✓ 8	19	20
Work Low, Family High	✓ 9	10	11	✓ 12	21	22
Family Low	13	✓ 14	✓ 15	✓ 16	23	24

Figure 3. Idealized model of dual and single-earner couples based on work and family role involvement.

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